SHELTER

● 342 Semipermanent dwelling house.- Thatch or tule mat-covered dwelling house (mohošt) was circular, dome-shaped, one-family house, about 8-10 ft. high at top of dome, some 20 ft. in diameter, although for large family dimensions enlarged. Floor for house was dug out about 6-12 in. (SM), or "not dug out at all" (FP); willow poles (u·'ut) from Salix laevigata Bebb. (ha·l), about 2 in. in diameter, were stuck in ground 3 ft. or so apart to form circle; tops of poles were bent inward and attached to round hoop (olo·igin) some 2 ft. in diameter which was fastened inside at top of dome, for smoke hole. Bands (u·mat) of willows 2 in. in diameter, spliced and tied with withes when necessary, were laid horizontally 1-2 ft. apart around frame of house. Armfuls of brush from Chrysothamnus sp. (ši·bapul) were piled over frame and secured by second series of bands; outside of structure then plastered with wet clay. Finally tule mats (paht) were laid over clay; mats secured by third series of bands.

Door (yÏhpal) of house faced E to catch morning sun (FM); door wicket-shaped, about 2 ft. wide, 4-4 1/2 ft. high; lower horizontal bandings on house stopped short on both sides of doorway. Tule mat hung over door; TÜbatulabal houses had no porchlike entrance way, such as Northfork [17] Mono houses had (Gifford, 1932 b, pls. 2b, 3c), but were similar in structure to tule house of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, pl. 3c).

[372] Fire was built in shallow pit in center of house, immediately beneath smoke hole. Men procured willow poles and set up house frame, women gathered brush and tules, made tule mats. Mat-covered houses were "drier, and warmer" than plain brush and mud-covered houses, but "some people were too lazy to get tules" (SM, FP) so their houses lacked tule covering. Houses could be set [22] up in single day; lasted 2-4 years (MM). In winter families cooked, ate, worked, and slept in these houses.

352 House furnishings scanty; tule mats were spread on floor; beds consisted of tule mats with cylindrical heap of earth piled up under one end of mat for pillow. Bearskin, deerskin, rabbitskin blankets used for coverings; in daytime sleeping mats and coverings rolled up, shoved against side of house out of way. Man and wife slept next to each other, feet toward fire; children slept on opposite side of house, in [84] same position. Menstruating women stayed inside family living house or camp; did not occupy separate menstrual hut.

178 Most of TÜbatulabal now live during all or
342 greater part of year in one-room frame shacks;
[22] about 20-30 years ago they built rectangular gabled houses with partitions and fireplaces which were nonaboriginal in ground plan, but constructed from native materials. Cottonwood posts were used for uprights and roof beams; tules, doubled over series of horizontal willow

178 bands, used for walls, and 7-in.-thick layer of
342 tules, secured with series of willow bands inside and out, formed roof. Wreckage of such house, first used as dwelling, then as stable, standing in 1932 (pl. 6c); this house built by "Little Bill" Chico 38 years ago; MM had built similar house for his wife 27 years ago. Houses of sun-dried adobe bricks occasionally built, from 40 years ago to present time; SM frequently employed to lay out such.

349 Shades and summer shelters.- Simple shade or ramada (koma·l), still used occasionally; rectangular, built on 4-post foundation with 2 willow poles resting lengthwise in top of forked uprights; willow branches piled at right angles to these 2 top poles, to depth of 3-4 ft. These simple shades 4-6 ft. high, 6 x 8 ft. long and wide; made chiefly for women to work under during hot weather.

349 More elaborate type of summer shelter, re-
342 ferred to by same term as above, built as protection against wind; this consisted essentially of 4-pole shade, built higher and longer than ordinary ramada, with back and sides added, front left open. Series of willow poles, 1 in. or so in diameter, with small branches left on, were stuck upright in ground in straight line close to each other, between the forked uprights; these series of poles formed walls, which were banded on inside and outside with series of horizontal willow bands spaced 1-2 ft. apart. Tops of these shelters covered with willows in same manner shade covered. Families ate, slept
[221] under such shelters in summer; in summer 1933 several families at Onyx rancheria using such. FM remembered having seen long rectangular communal shelter of this type, sufficiently large to accommodate several families, in use during fiestas at hot springs near Kernville in Palagewan area; women cooked at separate fires in open front part of this shelter, which faced E to get morning sun.

349 Camps.- At piñon grounds Tübatulabal often
361 camped in large group, within circular corral-like brush enclosure (ho·yat), 30-50 ft. in diameter, which had brush walls 3-4 ft. high and single entrance on E side. Supplies kept inside this enclosure and families ate and slept there in family groups.

349 Single families out gathering piñons often use shelter (mohošt, also term for dwelling house) made by leaning poles along both sides of horizontal limb of tree; these poles slope downward and outward and are covered with brush, slabs of pine bark being laid over brush to form shelter, 4-6 ft. high, which serves as storage place and as sleeping quarters in event of thunder showers (MM).

[171] On bulb-gathering expedition to desert FP had camped in single-pole greasewood shade similar to Northfork Mono shelter (Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b).

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [534] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, 171 although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round 527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en- 535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens 482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed 492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams 501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

159 loads. I liked to go with her to haul wood all
482 the time. And I went with my mother over to the
[252] pit mortars and helped her grind acorns; that's
857 what I knew how to do. All my other sisters stayed home; I only went. The boys would be playing at hunting rats, and the 2 girls cooked for them. Some girls didn't want to grind seeds or haul wood; they used to call me "old woman" because I did that. We would get up early in the morning, about daylight, and build a fire, and then my mother and I would go out. My father would be around the house working; he would go out and get a lot of quail.

159 There was one time when we were living over at
● [342] cuhka·yl (no. 17, fig. 11) in a mud and brush
823 house. That's the way the Indians used to do,
173 they just moved all around; they'd camp under some willows, anywhere; they'd keep moving around all the time. A big earthquake came and frightened everybody. I was a little girl then, about 7 yrs. old; afterward my father used to tell me about that earthquake. I remember only a little bit; the springs got white, like milk, when that earthquake came. Everybody cried and went around shouting; there were lots of people living at cuhka·yl PN was living there then. We had to get water to drink from the river at Kernville; the water in the springs was hot and white, just like milk, for about 3 days. Nobody would drink it. I just remember a little bit about it; I know all the children were frightened and cried when the earth quaked.

159 After we left cuhka·yl we moved up where SM
578 lives now, at yĭtiyamup (no. 9, fig. 11). There
[423] were lots of people living there; 5 families. We just camped there in a brush house, and we had a ramada (shade) made from willows. Nobody owned that land then; we just moved around. We children used to play on the big boulders up there; my sister and I pushed a little boy down on one of the boulders; he fell down and hurt himself, and his mother was angry and quarreled with my mother. Then my father and mother got mad and moved up to the pit mortar bed near there; they stayed there 2 days; then we moved up to omomĭp again. They all moved up to omomĭp, all those people living that time at yĭtiyamup; that woman who got angry came along, too. That's the way the Indians did; they moved all around, camping; they should have gotten land. And that woman camped at omomĭp, too. We made a mud and brush house there, different from the ramada.

159 One brother of mine had died while we were stay-
276 ing down at yĭtiyamup. We stayed at omomĭp for 2
757 yrs. I was rather sickly; weak; I didn't feel good, all the time; my father told me to take jimsonweed. Everybody had supper over at our house; I didn't eat anything that whole day. After they had had supper everybody left, and about sundown, when it was getting dark my father said, "I'm going to give you this medicine. You'll be all right."

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789 Plate 1. a, Steban Miranda with steatite bowls and pipes used in rain making. b, Frances Philips. c, Estefana Miranda Salazar. d, Mike Miranda.

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342 Plate 2. a, central section of South Fork valley, looking S to Nichols peak and Paiute mts. from Steban Miranda's rancheria, village site no. 9. In foreground sagebrush, Digger pines, scrub oak; in valley beyond, willows and cottonwoods. b, village site no. 9, Steban Miranda's rancheria, looking E. In foreground cottonwoods around springs; on mts. in background Digger pines. c, e. end of South Fork valley, 6 mi. above Onyx, looking NE. In foreground sagebrush, in middle background tree yuccas, on mt. slopes Digger pines.

249 Plate 3. a, field of wild tobacco, 1/2 mi. E of Weldon, central South Fork valley. b, tobacco plants in field shown above, after third pruning, showing enlarged leaves. Dimensions of envelope at base of plants 3 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. c, samples of tobacco plants taken from patch shown above after final gathering of crop. From left to right, 1, 2, 3, plucked stalks, 1, 16 in. high, 2, 3, 24 in. high; 4, 5, unplucked plants overlooked in final gathering, height 38 in., leaves 6-8 in. long, 2 1/2-3 in. wide; 6, large untended

249 N. bigelovii plant, height 35 in., leaves 4-6 in. long, 1 1/2-2 1/2 in. wide; 7, untended N. attenuata plant, 22 in. high, leaves 2-3 in. long, 1-2 in. broad.

249 Plate 4. a, Estefana Salazar gathering tobacco leaves. b, Frances Philips stripping midribs from tobacco leaves. c, Legora Tungate, Frances Philips, Estefana Salazar with tobacco wrapped in willow bundles ready to be cured.

249 412 415 276 Plate 5. a, cured tobacco drying in sun. b, brush-shaded pit mortar, showing pestles, fiber brush, and basketry tray used when pounding cured tobacco. c, balls and plugs of tobacco drying in sun.

343 301 342 133 773 Plate 6. a, sweat-house pit with remains of sweat house at village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Circumference of pit 37 ft., depth 6 ft. b, necklaces of cylindrical shell beads and colored-glass trade beads. c, ruins of transitional house type of tules and cottonwood at village site no. 7, Onyx rancheria, South Fork valley. d, pa·ša·pan, at base of mts. 3 mi. SW of Onyx and 1/2 mi. E of Kelso creek; showing boulder which Coyote, according to legend, broke in 3 pieces when Bluejay attempted to build bridge across Kelso creek to Nichols peak.

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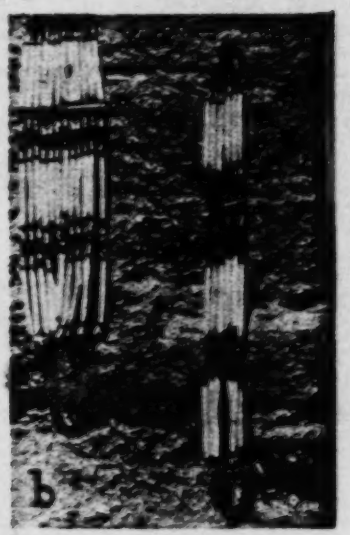

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[p. 90]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

T Y [P. 519] Tubatulabal NS29

159 father and is older than P.M., now lives up at T Y Onyx.[126]

756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, T Y was a Bankalachi.

221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When P.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 P.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deep Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena ''w in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ' 'n"wao, was east of Čena"". Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above P.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi 'yo, which P.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu 'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana 's'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight T Y [354] mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya 'w'l ti ''i; that I Y covered with tule, pumuk ti ''i.[128]

343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. P.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).